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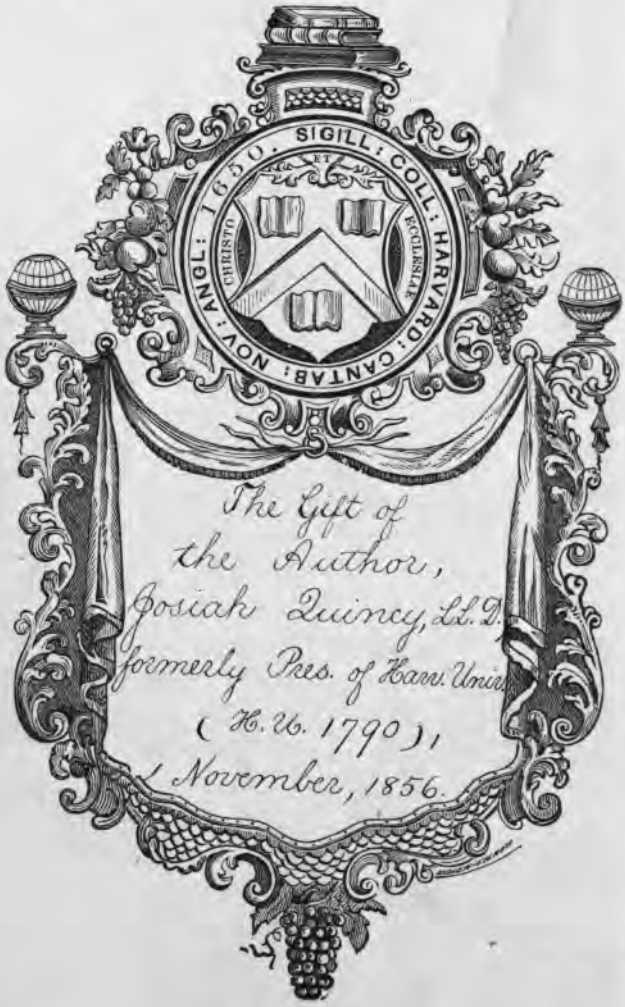

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WHIG POLICY

ANALYZED AND ILLUSTRATED.

BY JOSIAH QUINCY.

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WHIG POLICY

ANALYZED AND ILLUSTRATED.

BY JOSIAH QUINCY.

BOSTON:
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☞ The ensuing work has been prepared on the spur of the occasion. The topics touched demand a fuller development, which, if circumstances hereafter permit and require, may be attempted.

BOSTON, 27th OCTOBER, 1856.

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WHIG POLICY

ANALYZED AND ILLUSTRATED.

No MAN, who regards with fear, or with shame, the long and uninterrupted ascendency of slaveholders, in this Union, can observe the proceedings of the "Whig State Convention," on the 3d of September last, without sorrow at the spirit evinced, nor without melancholy at the acknowledgment, which had the aspect of lamentations. "An old flag," it was said, "which has floated in triumph over this Commonwealth for a quarter of a century past, and once gathered under its folds an army of seventy thousand voters, can now rally, hardly more than a respectable color guard!" What could induce a body of wise men, to muster for display under such circumstances, and close up their broken and deserted ranks for service, might seem mysterious; but parties, like individuals, have an instinctive horror of dissolution. They have been characterized as "the madness of many, for the gain of a few." The few, therefore, naturally keep the hallucination alive, until every hope of gain is extinct.

In the pending crisis of our country, neither names, nor virtues, nor personal esteem, nor private friendship, ought to have any weight in the scale against plain and incumbent duties. These whig acknowledgments are melancholy, because they are true, but they have omitted to acknowledge what is equally true, and more melancholy. From the time "whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary," the political influence of Boston, with scarcely an exception, has controlled that of Massachusetts. The whigs have, by their own showing, been the leading power of the State, at least a quarter of a century. How much of the old hereditary influence of Boston over the other towns of the State,

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they now possess, it would be difficult to calculate. That for years it has been gradually diminishing, and for more than two, absolutely lost, is beyond question. Whether the ancient influence of Boston is ever regained, so long as the whig party insist upon being a political existence, is doubtful. But certainly never, so long as the same spirit and principles are their guides, which, during the last eight or ten years, have inspired their policy.

The whig party has possessed, and yet continues to possess, in full proportion, according to its numbers, all the principal elements which, in a republic, might be expected to retain influence and command power;—talents, wealth, exemplary private virtue, accompanied by many evidences of an inherent disposition to acts of charity and public munificence. Under such circumstances, the continuance, and even extension of their power, might have been anticipated. Their loss, therefore, of both positive and relative power, demands an earnest and solicitous inquiry into its cause. There is a tendency, in all parties, to think well of their own course, and to cast the blame of loss of influence elsewhere. Self-examination and self-knowledge are quite as important to parties as to individuals. In the judgment of "a looker on" upon events and results, during the whole existence of the whig party, this loss of influence is chiefly, if not wholly attributable to the fact, that at almost every stage of their existence, their policy has not been in unison with the moral principle and moral feeling of the great body of the people of Massachusetts. And notwithstanding many of the most worthy and talented members of the whig party were dissatisfied with its course, yet, through the influence of local interests, their voices were powerless, and the opinion became generally prevalent, that the whig sympathies favored the extension of slavery and the perpetuation of the slaveholders' ascendency. It may be proper and useful here, to state what were the moral principles and moral feelings, which the political course of the whigs have so long and generally offended.

Daniel Webster, in his speech of March, 1850, "for the Constitution and the Union," *so called*, states, that "at the time of the adoption of the Federal Constitution, in both the South and the North, slavery was equally held an evil, *but that the great ground of objection to it was* POLITICAL." As it respects Massachusetts, both recollection and history justify me in asserting that *this was*

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not the fact. My memory extends back, on many subjects, with sufficient clearness, to the year 1778, and from thence to 1788, when the process of forming the Federal Constitution commenced. Particular circumstances, both in Boston and in Andover, the place of my education, combined to make a deep and lasting impression on my mind, in boyhood and youth, of the detestation in which negro slavery was held, and of the universal determination to get rid of every trace of this colonial inheritance. The influence of the clergy, among whom there were, in that day, no "south-side views of slavery," and the increasing intelligence and civilization of the age, placed in strong relief before the people, the incompatibility of that institution with the principles of the American Revolution. So that, before the formation of the Federal Constitution, every negro within the State, with but few if any exceptions, had been emancipated. This was the result of moral principles and feelings. *Political* it could not have been. It was before political considerations, on this subject, had begun to have influence. The census of 1790, the first under the Constitution, is conclusive on this point. Massachusetts had then the glory, shared by no other State, of returning, "SHE HAD NO SLAVE."

In the Convention of delegates of Massachusetts, in 1788, on the adoption of the Federal Constitution, an antipathy to negro slavery was distinctly manifested. In the gallery of the church in Federal Street, I witnessed the debates of that Convention; and, though a young man, was even then deeply impressed with the difficulties, which the friends of the constitution had to encounter to force down that nauseous drug;—how it was kept out of sight, not being so much as named in the constitution;—how, by way of sweetening the dose, representation and taxation were mixed up together. By this, it was pretended to compensate the North, for its loss of political power, by the taxation of slaves in the South. By the effect of this, it was said that "five negro children in South Carolina would pay as much tax as the three Governors of New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Connecticut." Finally, the base concession was justified by the exciting hallucination, that by the passage of the constitution, "slavery would receive its mortal wound and die of a *consumption!*" At the present day, if it die at all, it will be of a *plethora.* It cannot be questioned, that the belief that it would put an end to slavery was among the most

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powerful causes of the adoption of the constitution in Massachusetts. By the passage of that provision she sold her birthright—equality—for a mess of poisonous pottage. 'Like Issachar, a strong ass, crouching between two burdens, she saw that rest was good, and the land pleasant, and bowed her shoulders to bear, and became a servant for tribute.' Had a prophetic spirit made known to that convention, that, instead of annihilating, it contained the germ of a policy, which would spread slavery from the Ohio to the Equator;—that its influence would corrupt the spirit of liberty in the free States themselves;—that new States, in countries foreign to the Union, would be admitted into it for the sole purpose of extending the area of slavery;—that Congress, in defiance of the limitation of the constitution, for this end, would assume to itself political omnipotence;—that compromises would be broken, insult, threat, intimidation and violence resorted to, even in the halls of legislation, in order to make slavery triumphant;—that the authors of these enormities would be applauded by legislatures and the chiefs of the slave States, and find individuals base enough to countenance and encourage them in the free States;—the provision of the constitution sanctioning slavery would have been rejected, as a disgrace and a dishonor, without a dissentient.

Such was the state of moral principle and moral feeling among the people of Massachusetts, on the subject of negro slavery, at the time of the adoption of the constitution. Soon after that event, a change in this feeling, began to spread, in the free States, in which, from envy, jealousy, rivalry, ambition and other passions, parties arose, of which the slaveholders had the tact to avail themselves. An alliance was soon formed, between slaveholding aristocrats, and Northern and Middle State democrats, on the basis of compensation and service; the former to ensure pay, place, and promotion, the latter to yield obedience, and blind, unhesitating submission. Under the auspices of this coalition, the most malignant misrepresentations, falsehoods and calumnies were invented and issued from Southern and Middle State presses, countenanced, spread and exaggerated by those of the democracy in the North, against the administrations of Washington and Adams. By these means the friends of both were driven out of power, and the dynasty of slaveholders, under Jefferson, commenced. During this period, two principles came into vogue, the one apparent, but

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not avowed; the other avowed and acted upon. The old, approved maxim of early times, in Massachusetts—"Every man for his country, and God for us all,"—was superseded, and a new version practically became predominant,—"Every man for himself, and as to gods, ours are money and power, to be worshiped and secured, at whatever sacrifice." The other maxim avowed and acted upon was, "Every thing is fair in politics,"—than which there is no more demoralizing principle, in a Republic. It includes perversion and concealment of truth, misrepresentation, calumny, falsehood, insult, abuse, cheating at elections, and every effective principle for the extension of slavery.

I have illustrated, in a recent publication, the manner in which foreign States were admitted into the Union, without the consent of the old States, by an usurpation of power by Congress, so unconstitutional, that Jefferson himself, slaveholder as he was, started back. He warned his partisans that Congress had no such power, that its consequences would be an annihilation of the obligations of the constitution and make it 'a dead letter.' Yet, being apprehensive that if the question was submitted to the free States, the opportunity of making slave States in the new territories might be lost, he omitted to apply his veto to the bill for the admission of Louisiana; warning, at the same time, his partisans to do their utmost to keep the consequences of that usurpation concealed from the free States. From this moment the slave States knew that all the limitations in the constitution were annihilated, that Congress was thereafter omnipotent, and the area of slavery might be extended at their will. To this object their policy has, ever since, been unceasingly directed; with what uninterrupted success, history will tell.

It was the mutual interest which resulted from the alliance between slavery and democracy, that at first softened, and, in time, changed, in Massachusetts, the early, inherent detestation of negro slavery. This change did not extend beyond the democratic party. But after the lapse of twenty or thirty years, another element of slaveholders' influence was introduced. In the course of these years, the profits arising from the cultivation of cotton in the Southern States, changed the opinion of the rich planters concerning the evil of slavery, which at first began there to be considered as a good, and then subsequently as a chief good. A like

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change, contemporaneously, came over the free States, in certain localities, where cotton-spinning and cotton-weaving began to be a source of wealth, and consequently of political power. This interest acquired strength with time and prosperity, and began to be a predominating influence, about the period the whig party was formed, constituting in truth the chief part of its cement. It was formed out of the broken materials of the old parties, which time and circumstances had dissolved, and was composed of recently fledged politicians, with a mixture of some democrats and some federalists, who joined the new party, not because its principles were to their mind, but because it was the best in the field. It took the name of Whigs, not from any affinity with those of the Revolution, but because the name had a savor of liberty, and thus formed a convenient cover for those whose interests led to the support of slavery; being, in respect of liberty,—"*lucus a non lucendo*," a name without the thing. Boston became one of these localities, where the head-quarters of the whigs was established, and of course became identified with the cotton-spinning and cotton-weaving interests. Here, therefore, the interests of the slaveholder were espoused with zeal, under the guise of upholding the constitution of the United States, of which the provision for returning runaway slaves, through the self-deception of interest, began to appear a most important feature.

The next enlargement of the area of slavery, after the establishment of the whig power in Massachusetts, was the annexation of Texas. The slaveholders made no concealment, that their object was to create new slave States; that two would be immediately annexed, and that the territory acquired would afford space for more. A treaty with Texas having that object, having been rejected by the Senate of the United States, Congress at once overrode the treaty-making power, and admitted Texas by the authority of the two branches. The atrocity of this usurpation awakened the sleeping patriotism of the whigs. Under their auspices, a convention was called in Faneuil Hall, in which leading whigs uttered their anathemas against the attempt, denouncing it "a plain violation of the constitution; that its object was to extend the area of slavery and make that institution permanent, declaring that Congress possessed no power to add foreign territory to the Union, except through the medium of the treaty-making

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power; that the project was iniquitous, and a deliberate and monstrous machination to secure the unlimited spread of slavery, that scourge and curse of the human race." Resolutions of like temper and tenor passed the whig legislature of Massachusetts. But with this clamor the courage and patriotism of the whigs oozed away. Texas was admitted by Congress by virtue of its own usurped authority. The constitution proved, in the hands of Congress, to be of India rubber materials, and was readily stretched over Texas. The patriotism of the whigs proved equally elastic. They at once declared, by language and acts, that they were ready to take the Union, however bounded.

This unqualified acquiescence in the policy of slaveholders was an assurance to them that the patriotism of the whigs would stretch as far as the growth of cotton could be extended. On the basis of this encouragement, they immediately put in train a war with Mexico, for the farther extension of the area of slavery. At the first notice of this design, the patriotism of the whigs took fire, and blazed out in flames, crackling with "violated constitutions," "dissolutions of the Union," "perpetuation of slavery," and "the duty of the free States not to submit." In defiance of these wind-guns, war with Mexico was declared. And notwithstanding the air yet resounded with the roar of those mimic thunderbolts, the whigs did submit. A whig Governor of Massachusetts assisted the slaveholders with volunteers. Victories were obtained, and a whig House of Representatives of Massachusetts voted thanks for them to General Taylor, which a remnant of old-fashioned patriotism led the Senate to reject. With these successive displays of whig spirit, the people of Massachusetts, who were not identified with cotton, or democracy, were naturally disgusted.

Similar feelings were excited by the subsequent course of the whigs, under the apparent lead of Daniel Webster. I shall refer to these events with reluctance. No man can have less disposition to diminish the lustre of his name. No one can have a more fixed determination to speak freely and fearlessly truths, important and useful to be known, concerning his public course and character. Mr. Webster was ten years my junior. He entered Congress, from New Hampshire, in 1813; the same year I resigned my seat, after having served, as Representative from the town

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of Boston, eight years. Our first official connection occurred in 1819, when we were elected members of a committee, appointed by the inhabitants of Boston, to prepare a memorial to Congress on the subject of the prohibition of slavery in the new States, caused by the proposed admission of Missouri. The memorial prepared was either wholly, or chiefly drafted by Mr. Webster. But whether so, or not, his name was subscribed to it, and it had his unqualified assent. In it the following principles were asserted and maintained by able arguments.

1. *That Congress had the constitutional power to prohibit slavery in the new States, and that to make such prohibition was both just and politic.*

2. *That the inconvenience and danger of a slave population had become apparent, and that it became the justice and wisdom of the national councils to prevent the further progress of this great and serious evil.*

3. *That by opening extensive and fertile fields as a new market for slaves, government would become parties to a traffic which, by many acts, passed successively, for many years, it had denounced as impolitic, unchristian and inhuman.*

4. *That a strong feeling existed in Massachusetts of the injustice of any toleration of slavery, which circumstances had entailed on a portion of the community, but which to permit, in a new country, would be to encourage fraud, rapacity and violence.*

In my conversations with Mr. Webster on the construction of that memorial and on other occasions, our concurrence in opinion on the subject of slavery was manifested; and I was highly gratified by his repeated expressions of direct approbation of my language and course in Congress, in 1811, on the passage of the bill for the admission of Louisiana into the Union. Our coincidence in opinion on this subject, was confirmed by the tenor of all his public discourses, for more than thirty years. During that period, I witnessed with pleasure and admiration the evidence of his talent, and the triumphs of his genius. I regarded him as a luminary of the first magnitude, destined, in due time, to become the ruling star of our Union. Had I been asked, on the morning of the 7th of March, 1850, how my opinions, on the subject of

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slavery, coincided with his, I should have deemed myself justified in replying with mingled pleasure and pride that "*they were identical.*" And on that day had I seen Orion or Arcturus fall from heaven and turn to dust and ashes at my feet, I could scarcely have been more astonished than at the sudden descent of Mr. Webster from the lofty station he had always before occupied, as the champion of the free States. The discrepancy of that speech with his previous political course and opinions, combined with the approximation, at no distant period, of an election of President of the United States, and also with the well known strong desire of Boston whigs to see him in possession of that station, led many to entertain the idea that this change of course and policy was nothing else than a headlong dash at that office. The presses and language of the slaveholders manifested the same opinion; but I thought too highly of the intellectual greatness of Mr. Webster, and of his own consciousness of it, to coincide in these sentiments. I attributed the change in his political course to his obligations to the party which supported him. Like too many of our public men, he combined professional relations and interests, with those of the statesman,—an union which, when known, never fails to weaken the public confidence in the independence of his course; leaving it doubtful, in the public mind, whether the interest of clients or of the clique which rewards him, predominates over his political path, and rendering it difficult even for the individual himself to determine, whether public interest or private obligations most influence his course. Self-reliant as Mr. Webster was, he never would have ventured on such a change in his language and views, as a public man, unless he had been previously assured of support from those, to whom he wished to make his course accceptable. Accordingly, immediately after the speech of the 7th of March, 1850, it was publicly asserted, in this vicinity, generally believed, and has never, as I have heard, been contradicted, that previous to its delivery Mr. Webster addressed by letter to one or more leading whigs, or through the telegraph, the following direct question: "How far may I go on the subject of slavery, and be supported by the whigs?" and that the reply returned was, "Go as far as you please, and you may be assured of our support." Whether these were the exact terms of the question or the answer, I am not able to state; but this report reached me through such channels that I

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have never doubted it was in some degree true. Its entire accuracy is unimportant to my present purpose.

That speech did receive the unqualified approbation and support not only of most of the leaders, but apparently of a great proportion of the whigs. A paper expressing that approbation and support, was circulated and signed not only by the *elite* of the whigs, but by nearly a thousand others, who, dazzled by the splendor of the speaker's talents, were unwilling to refuse to join the multitude in approving a speech the bearings and consequences of which, events have proved, they could not have sufficiently considered and did not understand. A justly esteemed gentleman of the bar, was found willing to congratulate Mr. Webster, in the presence of an enthusiastic multitude, assembled in Bowdoin Square, on the wisdom and patriotism of that speech. To which he responded amid the applauses of the crowd assembled on the occasion, with appropriate expressions of thankfulness, which were unquestionably heartfelt. He well knew the nature and probable consequences of that speech and was glad enough to go down to future times with so many responsible endorsers; many of whom had, by their signatures, nailed themselves down to the counter for many things it contained, which though current at the time, would not be received as true coin by posterity. Notwithstanding these demonstrations of approval and of fellowship of opinion by such multitudes, that speech, in my judgment, was at that time, and is at this day, regarded by a majority of the people of Massachusetts as neiter that of a statesman or a patriot; and that such will be the decision of future times, when the passions and influences of the present day shall have passed away, I cannot doubt. I leave the truth of this opinion to the test of time. My present object only is, to adduce the unqualified support by the whigs of this speech of Mr. Webster, as one prominent cause of that loss of popularity and power, which they acknowledge. To more recent demonstrations of the whigs, tending to the same result, I shall only briefly allude.

The first of these is their course in respect to the Nebraska and Kansas act, and the repeal of the Missouri compromise, both of which, according to the allegations of slaveholders, were included in the compromise of 1850; of which Mr. Webster's 7th of March speech of that year was the ground-work. On the avowal of this policy, the whigs, as on former like occasions, broke forth

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in remonstrances, resolutions, indignant denials that any authority for those acts were derived from the fugitive slave law of 1850, or from the proceedings under it.

To these verbal demonstrations, acquiescence soon succeeded, and the whigs are apparently now preparing to stretch their elastic patriotism so as to take in Kansas as a slave State, if Buchanan gets possession of the Presidential chair. Their nomination of Fillmore withdraws votes from Fremont as effectually as if they voted for Buchanan, and enables them to escape from the odium of being subject to the influence of slaveholders, and to unite with them in the cry of sectionalism. Their speeches and caucus resolutions manifest a comparative indifference to the outrages on Mr. Sumner and the free citizens of Kansas. All these facts are symptomatic, and have compelled, it is believed, a majority of the citizens of Massachusetts to the conclusion, that the present remnants of the whig party are no longer true supporters of constitutional liberty, but, in truth, representatives of the united interests of cotton-growers and cotton-spinners, and being nothing else, in this Union, but the northern wing of the slave power. The nature and origin of this interest resulting from cotton, is graphically set forth in Mr. Webster's speech of 7th of March, 1850, as it respects the South, and it also happily shadows forth the nature and growth of the twin cotton interest in the North. "*At the time of the adoption of the Constitution,*" Mr. Webster states, in that speech, "*there was entire coincidence and concurrence of sentiment on the subject of slavery, between the North and the South*"—"*in both it was regarded as a moral and social evil;*" but "*slavery is not regarded in the South now, as it was then.*"—"*It has now become an institution, a cherished institution, in that quarter;—no evil,—no scourge,—but a great religious, social and moral blessing.*" This statement of Mr. Webster is true,—perfectly so. The cause of this change of opinion, on the subject of slavery, he attributes, and justly, "*to the rapid growth and sudden extension of the cotton plantations of the South, which gave a new desire to promote slavery,—to spread it, and use its labor.*" Of consequence, says Mr. Webster, "*there grew up an eagerness for other territory,—a new area, or new areas for the cultivation of the cotton crop, and measures leading to this result, were brought about rapidly, one after another, under the lead of Southern men at the*

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head of the government, they having the majority in both branches of Congress to accomplish their ends." After such a statement of the origin and progress of slavery, it might have been expected that a Senator from Massachusetts would have said something of the iniquity and injustice of this policy; something concerning the counterbalancing of the profits of cotton by the moral effects of slavery on the character of the master, on the social improvement and civilization of the human race, and on the resulting duties and dangers of the free States.

But instead of such views or sentiments, he thus proceeds: "*There is no generation of mankind whose opinions are not subject to be influenced by what appears to them their present emergent and exigent interests. I impute to the South no particular selfish view in the change which has come over her. I impute to her no dishonest view. All that has happened has been natural. It has followed those causes, which always influence the human mind and act upon it.*" I make no comment on this apologetic extenuation of the extension of slavery. I refer to it only because, in this graphic statement of the progress of slavery in the South, he gives an equally graphic delineation of its growth in the affections of the inhabitants of particular localities in the free States. With the multiplication of cotton plantations in the slave States, spinning jennies multiplied in the free States, particularly in the North. According to Mr. Webster, self-interest "always influences the human mind and acts upon it. This is natural; of course there is in it nothing selfish, nothing dishonest," in keeping a whole race of men slaves, because it is for the interest of the South. For the same reason, there is nothing disgraceful or anti-patriotic in the North, in giving aid to the slave States; seeing that the cotton-growing and cotton-spinning interests are identical. That a change of feeling and opinion in certain localities in the North, concerning the institution of slavery, did take place, about the same time that the extensive culture of cotton raised the value of slave labor in the South, was apparent to any one who looked independently upon the course of events and opinions; and that this change did create a strong disapprobation among that part of the people of Massachusetts, among whom the cotton influence did not operate, is undeniable. The party called the whigs, confident in their talents, their wealth, and their private virtue, were active in meas-

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ures tending to aid and encourage the slaveholders, and thus deepened and strengthened the belief in the people of Massachusetts, concerning the identity of their respective interests.

I have been led to these animadversions, and subsequently, to this publication, from a deep and irrepressible sense of public duty, resulting from the conduct of the whigs, and of the language used, and the measures adopted in their several recent conventions, having for their objects, to guide and influence the people of Massachusetts in their approaching Congressional and State elections. Their conduct in bringing forward Mr. Fillmore as candidate for the Presidency, and Mr. Donelson, an embodiment of the slaveholders, as Vice President, under circumstances in which they dared not openly support Mr. Buchanan, with no other purpose than that of forming a *nucleus*, around which democracy might unite with congenial whigs, and thus give efficient aid to the slaveholders, without any appearance of subserviency to them,—their general silence in all their conventions, in relation to the outrage upon Mr. Sumner, and the readiness with which some of them adopted the views and language of slaveholders, in respect of that outrage, and those at Kansas, combined with their studied endeavors, in their several conventions, to keep both out of the sight and minds of the people of Massachusetts, are sufficiently indicative of their policy; of which their language, in those conventions, are corroborative evidences. I shall allude only to two instances. One of their leaders, (Mr. Stevenson,) on the 3d of October, expressed the hope that "*Boston would be represented, in the next Congress, by a man who, while giving expression to the sentiments of Massachusetts in national affairs, will not give offence to others.*" Another whig leader, (Mr. Lord,) on the 8th of October, referring to Mr. Burlingame's reply to Brooks, said, "*We need not send men to Congress as bullies and blackguards, but men who will neither be insulted themselves, nor will say any thing that will give insult to others.*" These expressions of these known leaders of the whig party, taken in connection with the subsequent proceedings of these whig conventions, render it obvious that these insinuations were intended to apply to Mr. Burlingame, and perhaps to Mr. Banks, both of whose political paths have been obnoxious to cotton-growers and cotton-spinners. The plain,

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undeniable policy of the whigs being to remove one, if not both these men from Congress, and to suggest a general tone of policy to the electors of the other districts, to send to that body, as their representatives, men who will be acceptable to the slaveholders, and to avoid all such as possess the same truth and fearlessness of temper and spirit. Now there is no duty more plain and incumbent, on the free States, at a crisis like the present, than to send men to Congress who have no peculiar interests in common with slaveholders;—men faithful to the great interests of liberty and humanity, and who, if doomed to meet "blackguards" on the floor of Congress, will not flinch from fulfilling their duties, in language adapted to the subject, their adversaries, and the occasion.

I have been chiefly led to these animadversions and to this publication, from a deep sense of the wrong and injustice done to one or both of these Representatives from Massachusetts, in the plain insinuations made against them in those whig conventions and the course of proceedings founded upon them. I have no personal acquaintance with Mr. Banks, nor Mr. Burlingame; and have no recollection of having ever seen either of them. I have no affinity with their previous political course. But there are certain great principles, which lie at the foundation of National prosperity and State character, which, if any people deliberately violate, their punishment is certain, and the justice of Heaven will not long be delayed. One of these great principles, applicable to Republics, is, that if a people would be well served, they must be true to those who serve them; when representatives are faithful to their duties, their constituents must be faithful to their representatives, and not permit rival interests and rival aspirants to make them unmindful of their obligations to those who have honorably upheld the true interests and character of their country. No man can doubt that the insinuations included in the language above quoted, were intended to apply either to Banks or Burlingame, or to both, implying as the ground for their being superseded, that they had given just offence to the slaveholders, to propititiate whom others must be sent.

I think I do no injustice to those two whig leaders, when I take it as indubitable, that those insinuations were intended to be applied to one or both of these Representatives. Under this impression, I use the right, incident to every citizen in a republic,

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to express opinions, in direct opposition to the charges those insinuations imply. Mr. Burlingame being the individual apparently the most obnoxious to these leaders, I shall exclusively adapt my defence, to the language used by him in his speech, delivered in Congress, on the 21st of June last, to which those insinuations most evidently were intended to apply. In opposition to which, I maintain that that speech, in the circumstances under which it was delivered, was timely, just, appropriate and honorable, and which, if the people of Massachusetts, at the ensuing elections, fail to support, they will, thus far, in my judgment, be disgraced, in all time, present and future. In it, Mr. Burlingame defends Massachusetts against gross misrepresentations and slanders, with equal truth and ability; refuting both, with reference to past history and the present times, evidencing research, judgment and tact. In it he speaks of freedom and slavery, in a spirit and in terms in which they ought to be spoken of everywhere. He arraigns President Pierce before the bar of public opinion, in language at once severe, appropriate, just and parliamentary. He spoke of Kansas and the Emigrant Aid Society according to truth and in a right spirit. He turned into well deserved ridicule the abusive rodomontade directed by slaveholders against the farmers of Massachusetts and the operatives in her manufactories, doing full justice and giving ample praise to those faithful, intelligent and laborious classes, whom slaveholders are accustomed to decry and speak of as inferior in the scale of being as their own negroes. Is it for a speech so full of truth, of justice, of power, that Mr. Burlingame is to be discharged by his constituents? Shall South Carolina honor with rewards and ovations, Brooks, for being the champion of slavery, whom history will record as being, in principle and act, but little above the level of an assassin? Shall Massachusetts dismiss, in disgrace, Mr. Burlingame, who has proved himself the champion of liberty, the faithful defender of her character and honor? If such be the result of the ensuing elections, there will be no need of further evidence, that the spirit of the fathers of the revolution has evaporated in transmission. The speech of Burlingame was timely, faithful, appropriate, and as a citizen of Massachusetts, my hope and prayer is, that he may be returned to Congress, at the coming election, and with him, as many more of like temper and spirit, as can be obtained.

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A sense of public duty has compelled me to present to my fellow-citizens these important truths, to be considered and weighed by them now and in future, concerning the identity of the cotton-growing and cotton-spinning interests. Of this last I consider, at this time, the whig party little else than an embodiment. Under its influence, Massachusetts has been led into a course of policy, which has made her the reproach and ridicule of slaveholders, while she has been a pander to their power and contributed to their success.

For many years, though not connected with politics, I have on all State questions voted for whig candidates. I recognize, in that party, many valued friends, the excellencies and exemplariness of whose private virtues I acknowledge; among whom I gladly include the individual whom the whigs have selected as the rival candidate of Mr. Burlingame, and of whom I rejoice to speak as eminent in all the qualities and virtues which do honor to the man and the citizen; and from whom I have received evidences of friendship, which I have pleasure in acknowledging.

If, as it is said, the hope of whig success, in this nomination, is the expectation of aid from the democratic party, to whom, as well as to the slaveholders, the disgrace of Burlingame would be highly gratifying; then, I affirm, no event could be more symptomatic of the corrupted spirit of the times. In a Republic, there can be no more certain omen of the deteriorated spirit of liberty than the union of capital with democracy, in support of the power and interests of slavery. History impresses no truth more universally and forcibly, than that the first stage of moral deterioration, in a free State, is that period when wealth becomes the predominating influence, and takes the control of public affairs. When wealth comes into power, the spirit of liberty never fails to go out. No man can have watched the course of events in this Union for the past fifty years, without perceiving that the great prosperity of the free States has gradually diminished and deteriorated that love of freedom which was bequeathed to them by the founders of the Republic.

May the result of the coming election prove that the spirit of the fathers still presides over the destinies of their sons!

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